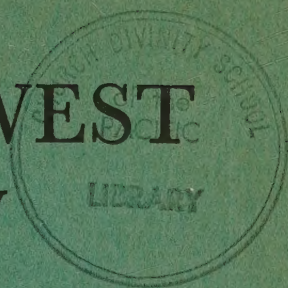


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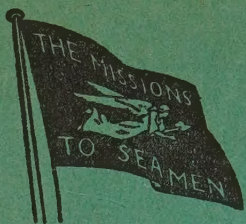
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THE EAST AND WEST REVIEW



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CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

By C. S. MILFORD*

This year the Student Christian Movement is making an appeal for recruits for the Christian Colleges of India and Pakistan. It is called the "53 Scheme" since 53 men and women are being asked for in 1953. This estimate of needs has been reached in close consultation with the Colleges themselves and the National Christian Council of India. In this article an attempt is made to assess the needs and prospects of the Colleges in the light of their past history and achievements.

THE pioneers of the modern missionary enterprise in India were confident that Western education would in itself prove a powerful instrument of evangelism by acting as a solvent of ancient superstition. Charles Grant, one of the directors of the East India Company who was a zealous evangelical, wrote before the end of the eighteenth century that through the study of the English language and Western writings "The Hindus would see the great use we make of reason on all subjects and in all affairs: they would also learn to reason . . . the removal of one pillar would weaken the fabric of falsehood: the discovery of one palpable error would open the mind to further conviction." Little came of this, largely through the timidity of the Company's administration, though they recognized the great need of reform and enlightenment; but their caution was such that in fact practically nothing was done. Lord Moira, the Governor-General, suggested in 1815 that "The remedy is to furnish the village school-master with little manuals of religious sentiments and ethical maxims conveyed in such a shape as may be attractive to the scholars, taking care that while awe and adoration of the Supreme Being are earnestly instilled, no jealousy be excited by pointing out any particular creed."

A bolder line was taken after Macaulay's famous Minute of 1835 which decided that English rather than Sanskrit or Arabic should be the general medium of higher education. He was careful to say that he hoped the Government would not give official support to missionary education, but he believed that the introduction of English would in fact promote the cause of Christianity.

The first missionary to take advantage of this new opportunity was Alexander Duff of the Church of Scotland, who founded his college in Calcutta in 1830. This was the beginning of a great tradition of work by the Presbyterians in this field. Their colleges in Bombay, Calcutta,

* The Rev. C. S. Milford is the West Asia Secretary of the C.M.S.

Nagpur and Madras (the last-named now on an inter-Church basis) have had on the whole greater continuity of support from the West than any of the other Christian colleges. The Anglicans started St. John's College, Agra, in 1852, and St. Stephen's, Delhi, in 1881. Some earlier institutions originally planned for theological training, notably the pioneer Baptist College at Serampore in Bengal and the C.M.S. College at Kottayam in Travancore (started in 1816 to give an enlightened training to priests of the ancient Syrian Church) later developed into University Colleges on the same lines as the others. American societies also entered the field: and one of the most important developments of the twentieth century has been women's colleges, notably the Women's Christian College in Madras and the Kinnaird College in Lahore, in both of which British and American Societies are co-operating.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND EVANGELISM

In the early days it seemed likely that Western education would be a powerful instrument of evangelism, and might even, as Grant and other pioneers hoped, bring about a wholesale turning of the educated youth away from Hinduism. This was specially so in Calcutta where a number of Duff's pupils, many of them coming from the highest castes and most distinguished families, became Christians. These men and their descendants have been prominent as leaders in the Indian Church ever since, not only in their own Bengal but also throughout North India. But this movement did not continue on any considerable scale. The explanation of this is that in the early nineteenth century Hinduism was at a low ebb through ignorance and corruption, and Western learning and Christianity together came as a startling new revelation. But Hinduism quickly produced a typical two-fold reaction. It threw up a monotheistic and progressive sect, the Brahmo Samaj, which provided a sort of half-way house for the social and intellectual *élite* of Bengal: while educated Hindu society as a whole began to liberalize itself.

The result has been that since those early days very few Hindus have become Christians through the work of the colleges. There has always been a small trickle of actual conversions, sometimes the result of the outstanding devotion of a particular missionary. An instance is G. T. Selwyn, afterwards Bishop in Tinnevely, who won a series of high-caste Hindu students in S. India, virtually adopting them as his own sons. But there has been no general movement, and this individual evangelism could hardly be regarded as justifying the continual existence of the colleges.

WIDER RESULTS

At the same time, however, the colleges have produced profound effects in other ways.

1. Countless non-Christian pupils, though they have not become Christians, have been deeply influenced by the Christian teaching and environment of their college days. The English Bible came to be almost universally known and loved, and constantly quoted. It is true that English education of any kind would have tended to this, since the

Bible has such a central place in English literature. But there is no doubt that the teaching of the Christian colleges greatly stimulated the process. In Calcutta University selections from the Bible were for many years included in the English syllabus to be read by all students, as a direct result of the influence of the Principal of Serampore College. Moreover, many of the pupils later attained leading positions through which the influence of the Christian colleges spread far more widely than their numbers would suggest. At one time all the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities in Madras State were graduates of the Madras Christian College. This is one of the reasons why, as is generally agreed to-day, Western ideas have sunk far more deeply into the consciousness of India than of China.

Christian institutions further retained their special position as pioneers of women's education for a very long time. Lord Beveridge bears an unintended testimony to this in his biography of his parents, "India Called Them". His mother went to Calcutta in the middle of the nineteenth century to work with a "Female Education Society" promoted by the Brahmo Samaj, but found herself completely frustrated, and for very many years the only really effective women's education was given through the Church.

2. The colleges also proved to be places where deep friendships could be formed between British and Indian, representing the best of their respective traditions. Perhaps nowhere else was the soil so favourable for the real meeting of hearts and minds, for here was full equality and comradeship and freedom from the official restraints, and cautions which made real intimacy at the government level so difficult. Perhaps the most notable case was the friendship between C. F. Andrews and Sushil Rudra, his colleague at St. Stephen's College, Delhi, and later its Principal. This experience had a decisive effect in Andrews' own life, and through him had profound repercussions on the whole relationship between Britain and India. Andrews was of course not by any means the only Britisher of whom Indians felt that he had completely "crossed over" and identified himself with their country: but his outstanding abilities made his case far more significant than any other.

3. At the same time, the Indian Church was steadily growing, and it was obvious that it would need Indian leaders in increasing numbers. It was recognized that the Christian Colleges had a vital contribution to make in the education of these future leaders in a Christian atmosphere. Most of the Indian bishops and leading clergy are graduates of such colleges, and many heard the call to ordination when studying there. But many Christian leaders in other walks of life have also been produced—not least among the aboriginal tribes. Among the writer's pupils at St. Paul's College, Calcutta, were the first members of two of the Naga tribes, from the frontier of Assam and Burma, who ever obtained a degree.

It still remains true that the Colleges must be judged chiefly on their success in these three tasks—the interpenetration of non-Christian Society, the building of real and deep understanding and friendship, and the education of Christian leaders of all kinds: though the hope

must never be given up that the time may again come when they will be used to win many individual non-Christians as converts.

UPS AND DOWNS

The life of the Anglican colleges in particular has been somewhat spasmodic, and during the second half of the nineteenth century they could not claim many outstanding figures. But new life was brought by the foundation of the Student Christian Movement in the 'nineties. This led to the accession of a notable band of recruits in the early years of this century, specially to the N. India colleges: three of them afterwards became bishops, and two others deans. A number of young graduates at about the same time began to go out on Short Service, agreements to test their vocation, and in any case to bring an infusion of new energy and enthusiasm to the colleges.

This supply inevitably dried up in 1914, but it flowed again after the war, specially through the unique gifts as a recruiter of Willie Holland, who himself taught in Allahabad, Calcutta, Travancore and Agra. Seven Oxford graduates went out in 1921 alone, and among the short service workers of those days was the present Editor of *Punch*. Not a few of them stayed for long periods, and some are still there to-day.

By the 'thirties, however, this impetus had largely spent itself. The Lindsay Commission, with the Master of Balliol as President, surveyed the situation in 1930-31, and recommended that the colleges should continue, and should not be given up in favour of either hostels or self-contained and independent Christian Universities. They recommended certain amalgamations, of which two, both in S. India, were carried through, and also an increase in research and extension work. A good deal was done in the latter sphere, though it was hampered by lack of money in this period of recession.

At the same time the growth of general disillusionment and the waning of the liberal optimism of the 'twenties also had its effect. There were increasing doubts about the value of a diffused Christian influence, while it was also realized in a new way that many of the reforms in Hindu society were due as much to the challenge of Western secularism and science as to the Gospel. There was also a new concentration of interest on Africa which tended to direct attention from education in India.

On this situation supervened World War II. Once again the supply of recruits was cut off. The colleges have survived and even new ones have been started, for the demand for higher education is overwhelming. But numbers have had to be increased in order to meet rapidly rising costs: and this together with the reduction of missionary staff from the West has tended further to dilute the Christian effectiveness of the colleges.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

After this historical survey we will try to assess frankly the present situation.

It is of the greatest importance for the world that independent India is still part of the Commonwealth: that her leaders are genuinely trying to be champions of liberal and democratic ideas, menaced by totalitarian systems: and that in pursuance of this policy they have written into their constitution guarantees of religious liberty, including freedom to

propagate religion, which are more specific than those found in any other written constitution. It is quite legitimate to claim that a century of Christian education has notably contributed to this result. It has helped greatly the acceptance of Western humanist values which are inextricably bound up with Europe's Christian heritage. Moreover, no less than 20 out of 22 representatives of social and religious minorities who sat on the Minorities Commission to help with the drafting of the Constitution, were found to have been educated at Christian colleges. It was the Christian representatives who pressed for the inclusion of the clause, giving freedom to propagate one's faith.

As Professor Toynbee has pointed out, all this is of great importance for the Western world. But he had also pointed out that different components of Western influence have penetrated Hindu India to different depths. Science and technology has now been completely welcomed (apart from the stricter of Gandhi's disciples), but it is commonly said by Hindus to-day that what India needs is a synthesis of Western science and Indian philosophy and religion. It has now become much more clear that very many of those educated people who seemed to Dr. Stanley Jones to be so very near to the Kingdom of God, have in fact only adopted so much of the Gospel as they could comfortably synthesize with their Hindu faith. Such a response is in fact in line with age-long Hindu tradition, and its leading exponent to-day is Professor Radhakrishnan, now Vice-President of India. The Indian Universities' Commission, over which he presided a few years ago, actually put forward proposals for a syllabus of inter-religious study in the universities, which would concentrate on those universal features which are common to all religions and deliberately exclude distinctive "dogmas" of any particular faith. But some Indian theologians were quick to point out that if such a syllabus were imposed on the universities, it would mean in fact that the State was teaching a particular religion, namely neo-Hinduism, and that this would contravene the Constitution! (The same objection has been advanced against the present policy of Sevagram, Gandhi's *Ashtam*, where his disciples are working out his theories of Basic Education. It is said that the belief that all faiths lead to the same goal has in fact been exalted into the position of a dogma, and that Sevagram, which makes such a parade of being inter-religious, has in fact become a sectarian institution.)

FRIENDSHIP AND CONTACTS

Our conclusion from this part of our survey is that the Christian colleges still have an important part to play in promoting friendships between East and West and in maintaining culture-contacts. The need of this is indeed much greater than it has ever been before, because with the withdrawal of the British officials and forces, the opportunities for real meeting between British and Indian minds have been much reduced. Instead of officials who dedicated their lives to India, there are now numerous technical experts most of whom stay only a short time and do not feel it worth while to try to penetrate below the surface of Indian life. It will therefore be a very great loss if the colleges are no longer able to command a supply of recruits from Britain.

At the same time these friendships, if they are to be really fruitful, must penetrate down to the sharpened religious issues outlined above. For this a deeper understanding and experience of theology will be needed than was possessed by many of the young teachers who went out in the last generation. Where these issues are uncovered and really challenging witness is given to the unique claims of Christ, will such Christian teaching still be welcomed or even allowed? This issue is likely to arise first in Pakistan. The authorities here, as in India, have so far taken a liberal view. The following is an extract from the report of a sub-committee of the Syndicate of Lahore University appointed to consider the question of Christian teaching to non-Christians in missionary colleges in 1952 :

If we examine the work of these institutions during the last century or so of their existence one cannot find any undesirable effect resulting from their teaching of the Bible. The people who have gone out of these colleges have shown evidence of stronger morals and characters and a spirit of service to the country, which there is no doubt has resulted from close contact with the missionary teachers in these colleges.

A number of similar statements have been made by responsible persons in India. Some of these are, it is true, double-edged ; Christian teaching is welcomed because it is felt to be innocuous. But it would certainly be a mistake to cease to give it and to sharpen its challenge as long as the door remains open. In Pakistan it is also being suggested that Christian colleges should provide Islamic instruction for Moslem students, though this matter has not yet been pressed. Such an authority as Dr. Kraemer holds that at the college level this is not only tolerable but should be welcomed. In one case a demand has been made that all official college functions should open with reading from the Koran. This certainly could not be accepted, and if pressed might mean the end of some Christian colleges in Pakistan.

CHARACTER AND STANDARDS

There is no doubt that chiefly from economic pressure, standards have grievously declined in most colleges both in India and in Pakistan. Numbers have become so inflated that discipline has suffered ; and though Vice-Chancellors vie with one another in deploring all this, no one has the courage to face the odium which would be involved in any drastic reduction of numbers and tightening of standards. This has infected some of the Christian colleges too, especially those in country towns which are looked to by the public to provide general education for the community. On the other hand, some—and most notably some of the central interdenominational colleges which are supported by a number of societies, have remained entirely immune : and many others are recognized by the authorities as by far the most efficient, except for some of the government colleges which are very lavishly supported by public funds. From this three practical conclusions about recruiting may be drawn :—

(1) The interdenominational colleges and certain others where standards have been most effectively maintained should have the first call on reinforcements.

(2) Where there is more than one Christian college in an area, they should if at all possible be combined. This is especially true in N. India where there is a great dearth of qualified Christian graduates.

(3) Recruits should, wherever possible, go in groups rather than singly.

As long as they are dependent for their support on college fees and government grants this may be very difficult to achieve. But if additional funds could be raised to make possible the support of certain supernumerary teachers, the situation would be greatly eased. Unfortunately all the missionary societies have their resources so fully pledged already that they can be expected to carry little of the extra financial burden.

CHRISTIAN TRAINING AND EVANGELISM

The need for institutions where Christians can receive education in a thoroughly Christian atmosphere remains as great as ever. In S. India especially there is a steadily increasing number of Indian graduates who can and do make an important contribution along these lines, but there is abundant evidence that their work still needs to be supported and reinforced by that of missionaries from the West. There is a very real danger that in the present situation which has been described above Indian and Pakistani Christians may be tempted to refrain from any kind of bold evangelism because they do not wish to forfeit the goodwill of the non-Christian majority upon whom they are so largely dependent for their livelihood. This is a most insidious danger in the colleges, especially in N. India and Pakistan where the majority of students will inevitably continue for a long time to be non-Christians without whose fees the institutions could not possibly be carried on.

News recently received makes it clear that men and women who feel strongly this duty of evangelism and by their training have a real grasp of evangelistic methods can still make a most vital contribution to the colleges along these lines. A missionary writes that she has met a group of six members of the Mar Thoma Church of Travancore, four bachelors and a married couple, who are embarking on a venture of pioneer evangelism in the State of Rewa, one of the former Native States in which missionary work was always forbidden, but which is now open to the Gospel for the first time since it comes under the new Constitution of India. They owe their inspiration entirely to a young missionary who was their teacher in a Christian college. He died nearly twenty years ago, but this is only one of the continuing evidences of his spiritual power.

Finally, it is well known that very many students in India are attracted to Communism. Their attachment is often superficial, but it sometimes goes deeper, not seldom among Christians who are genuinely frustrated because the Indian Church has so often failed to be in the van-guard of the fight for social justice and reform. There is a very great opportunity to-day for missionary teachers who will be able to show their pupils how to advance beyond the pietism which so often limits the full growth of even the best Christians towards a resolute application of the Gospel to public and social life.

OPPORTUNITY IN BORNEO

By the RIGHT REVEREND N. E. CORNWALL,
Bishop of Borneo

THE Diocese of Borneo has been a lot in the news of late. The S.P.G. Film "The Last Candle" has attracted a good deal of attention, and there has been considerable propaganda in connection with the new Cathedral. Propaganda has to be very "snappy" if it is to do its job: EAST AND WEST REVIEW provides opportunity for looking at the Church in Borneo in a more leisurely fashion and seeing the whole in a certain measure of proportion.

What might be called the "effective" part of the Diocese of Borneo is made up of the Colony of Sarawak, the Colony of North Borneo, and the State of Brunei, all lying on the North-West and the Northern tip of the great Island of Borneo. These three together are about the same size as England, Wales and Scotland. The seed of Christianity was first sown in Kuching which has always been the capital of Sarawak, and this was effected by Francis McDougall who was sent out by the Church of England in 1847 in response to Rajah Brooke's appeal. The Anglican Church was first in the field, followed some years later by the Roman Church, and later still by the Methodists.

With the establishment of peace by the firm rule of the Rajahs and the help of the British Navy, immigration from China increased steadily. These Chinese came mostly from Southern China where the influence of Protestant bodies was very strong. The Foochows coming to Sibu in Sarawak brought with them Methodism; and the Hakkas in the North came mostly from areas where Basel Lutheranism prevailed, and this later developed considerably in the coastal towns of North Borneo.

McDougall, who became the first Bishop in 1855, after eight years' work there as priest and doctor, struggled to do two things. First he endeavoured to build a strong centre in Kuching, to be the mainspring of everything that was done. Here he built a large (for those days) wooden church which became the pro-Cathedral, and a house, and started a school, in addition to practising as a doctor. Secondly, he sought every way of making contact with the indigenous people, the Dayaks, and winning them to peace through faith in Jesus Christ. In both these tasks he had to fight against fearful odds. He and his wife often suffered grievously from ill-health; his staff was always so small as to be almost powerless: and the difficulties and dangers of travel and communications were so great as to make progress both slow and extremely difficult. Further, the whole country was in a terribly unsettled state and poor condition owing to the piracy which had been going on for so long. In face of these and other (such as language) difficulties, a beginning was made. The "hub" at Kuching was small but strong, and there were one or two "missions" out in the Sea Dayak areas, and one among the Land Dayaks at Quop. Labuan was visited once or twice a year to

minister to the few British people there and so to justify the name of the Diocese, which was then Labuan and Sarawak.

When McDougall had to retire in 1868 his successor, Chambers, had not only to carry on the work begun, but he also had added to it the supervision of the church in "The Straits Settlements". The third Bishop, Hose, was officially Bishop of Singapore, Labuan and Sarawak, with a Cathedral and residence in Singapore as well as in Sarawak, and he spent about six months in each. This state of affairs existed until 1909 and it is not surprising that the progress was very slow. It was, however, early in Bishop Hose's episcopate that the Gospel spread to North Borneo, fairly soon after the North Borneo Chartered Company had begun its operations.

A new lease of life, and a new directive, came with Bishop Mounsey in 1909, who was relieved of the incubus of the Straits Settlements. He was able to concentrate on Sarawak and North Borneo: the days of piracy and internal wars had now long been forgotten: trade was developing and more ships were able to travel about more easily and safely: a much larger staff became available; new resources in England were tapped by the inauguration of the Borneo Mission Association, pledged to pray for and to support the Church in Borneo. Bishop Mounsey gathered to himself some first class workers; he completely reorganized the Diocese, greatly strengthening the centre at Kuching and making it into a spiritual place which influenced and brought new life to the rather weak links. The 1914-18 war inevitably curtailed and weakened the drive which he had initiated in 1910—another instrument of the devil for the hindrance of the Church of God—and before the war was over Mounsey was carried out of the country a sick man and forbidden to return to it. In his short episcopate of barely seven years he had really created a nebulous collection of very weak Mission stations into a Diocese, a healthy and strong limb of the Catholic Church, with its jurisdiction defined, its relationship with S.P.G. clarified and greatly strengthened, and a very strong Diocesan centre established at Kuching with Cathedral and Schools flourishing and a really effective and efficient Diocesan Office.

Bishop Logie Danson made full use of what he found and the next fourteen years were years of good steady growth and expansion; lack of men and shortage of money were of course the twin brakes which always hold back progress; but in spite of this the old Mission stations developed, and new expansion went on steadily. One of the most important steps taken was that of training a few Chinese for the priesthood, and ordaining one or two Dayaks after periods of training under mission priests. Thus the roots were thrusting downwards, and more and more fruit was appearing on the tree. Their growth continued and was even enriched, under the guidance of Bishop Noel Hudson—and this in spite of the fearful world depression which coincided, with his episcopate and seriously affected Borneo as every other country. An outstanding event of his regime was the four years when the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, had a "House" in Kuching, and the "Mirfield Fathers" both ministered to the Cathedral and trained four Dayaks and Chinese for the priesthood.

Francis Hollis had hardly begun his episcopate before the clouds were darkening the sky, and by the end of 1941 the Japanese were in control of the land; all missionaries were either in the internment camp or had escaped; all the indigenous priests were cultivating land for their existence and surreptitiously carrying on their ministrations as best they could. At least in towns all Mission buildings, houses, schools and churches were taken over for military purposes and their contents ruthlessly destroyed. In the villages houses and schools were neglected; soon those that were still used were not cared for and looked after as they should be. Timber buildings in the tropics deteriorate very rapidly unless steadily looked after.

So after the war the Church was faced with a task of quite superhuman proportions. By 1949 the staff was reduced to 15 Priests—4 European, 5 Chinese, 5 Sea Dayaks and 1 Land Dayak. With them were 4 European lady missionaries and about 4 Catechists and 1 Chinese Deacon. The people had taken immediate action to provide places of worship and schools, either carrying out temporary repairs or building temporary accommodation. But the situation looked desperate—and it was soon whispered “The S.P.G. is finished out here.” Desperate conditions require desperate measures, and the S.P.G. in England went into action. Six new priests were found to follow out the new Bishop within a year; and new grants were found to support them, and capital sums provided to assist with reconstruction. Unfortunately each year’s—each month’s—delay resulted in rising prices so that the work of rebuilding has cost more and more. War Damage award—a percentage of the assessed loss based on 1939 prices—was a help though it bore little relation to the new 1950–51–52 prices. Local endeavour raised more money and matched the generosity of the people in England who contributed through the Far East Relief Fund. For the rest we have dipped into reserves believing it to be more important to have the equipment than a bank balance. Two new Churches have been built at Labuan and Brunei to replace those totally destroyed by allied bombing. The burnt out shell at Sandakan has been completely restored. Temporary churches were erected at Kudat and Kuala Belait. Very extensive repairs and complete refitting were carried out at Jesselton, Miri, Tawan and Kuching. New schools have been built at Sandakan (two) and Miri; all other schools had to be completely refitted and largely restored. In Kuching both at St. Mary’s and St. Thomas’s several large new buildings were necessary. Four new Vicarages and a new Principal’s house, together with the complete restoration and re-furnishing of all others has added very greatly to the task. Now the temporary buildings which were so largely neglected during the war are in serious need of restoration. Finally the Cathedral in Kuching which was patched and hastily brought into use after its war-time service as a store is in a very bad condition; further patching would only be waste of money, and so we are called upon to shoulder the task of building a new Cathedral. As if this was not enough, new conditions in Jesselton, with a new Town plan, are making it imperative to rebuild the whole Mission, involving this year the rebuilding of All Saints Boys’ School and next year the Church and Vicarage, and in 15 years’ time the Girls’ School

(St. Agnes). Besides the heavy task of mere reconstruction there is also the steady growth of the Church to be provided for. In the Land Dayak area five new village churches have been blessed in the last three years to meet the new needs (these are mostly very simple little churches built by the people or by their gifts supplemented from outside.)

To-day the staff of the Diocese consists of a Bishop and 23 Priests—12 European, 5 Sea-Dayaks, 4 Chinese and 2 Land-Dayaks. There are also 5 European laymen and 6 European women teachers. This magnificent reinforcement of staff has been brought about by the help of the prayers and faith of Christians in England and by the grand work and influence of S.P.G.

The present position then is one of great encouragement and great possibilities, and I would like to classify something of the work which lies to hand and which is opening up.

It is still true, as it was in the beginning, that Kuching must be a strong centre. This is much more true of the Mission field than it is of England; in the Mission field the limbs, or parishes or districts, have not yet got deep roots of their own as have the parishes in England. They still depend greatly—if not entirely—on the spiritual and material power which flows from a strong centre. It is therefore essential that the centre should be strong and throbbing. News reaches me of over 1,500 worshippers in the Cathedral on Easter Day and over 700 Communicants and many penitents. This is encouraging; here there *must* be a new Church which must be the Cathedral of the Diocese. We must plan and build worthily, as our great forefathers did in England. Even if we can only build a little it *must* be of the best—can we imagine our forefathers putting up cheap Cathedrals or Churches in England? Surely our glory here is in the grandeur of the inspiration and the beauty of the work which we have inherited in so many of our Cathedrals and Churches. So the appeal has gone forth to the world for help to build a worthy House of God in Kuching which will be a great power house of prayer and inspiration and learning for the whole Diocese to draw upon. Here too are the two great schools of the Diocese—St. Thomas's and St. Mary's—giving Christian education to a total of about 1,600 children. Here also is the House of the Epiphany in which men are being prepared for the Sacred Ministry; at present there are 6 Sea-Dayaks and 3 Land Dayaks having a special course of four years suited to their limited abilities; for the training of the better educated (those who can work easily in the English language) we must still look outside the Diocese. Kuching parish itself provides ample opportunity for endless pastoral work, with its usual round of visiting and classes of instruction for the Sacrament of Baptism and Confirmation. There is also great opportunity for "missionary" work among the large numbers of Chinese, and the Dayaks who live on the outskirts of the town.

The Land Dayaks live mostly in the area most closely linked with Kuching. They are a peaceful and charming race struggling to scratch a living from the very poor and worked-out soil on which they live. There are two language groups among them—the Bukar and the Biatah, each with a number of kindred dialects. The expansion in these areas in the last three years has been phenomenal. I have mentioned the

blessing of five new village Churches. Schools have also been demanded in village after village, and these provide magnificent seed-beds for Christian teaching.

Next, geographically, come the Sea-Dayaks. The Church's chief work among them lies between Kuching in the South and the Rejang River to the North—only a small fraction of Sarawak. Here there are three main Mission centres at Simanggang, Betong and Saratok. These can only be reached by river, and the various out-stations are reached either by river or by hard walking under all the difficulties of tiny tropical swamp-jungle paths. The demand for education came with a bound and a flourish of trumpets in the boom days of 1950-52, and it is interesting to note that it has shown no signs of abating now that the price of rubber has dropped. There can be no doubt of the evangelistic power of our Schools. The film "The Last Candle" gives an indication (a true story even if adapted to suit the needs of filming). Recently I visited a long-house about six hours' walk from Simanggang—hard walking relieved by occasional wonderful bathes in the up-country rivers we crossed; there about eighty people were baptized and confirmed and given first communion, the long-house veranda being used as a church. All this began with one boy coming to St. Luke's School, Simanggang, becoming a Christian, and then going back to his own house to spread the good news. We sophisticated people of England find it hard to believe or understand; but the fact is that this is how God is working. A few weeks ago the Government asked us to open a School in a new district—of course we MUST take this up and find a teacher somehow from somewhere; this is mentioned to show that the Government are coming increasingly to value the stability of the mission school, and the "supervision" which the Church provides. One could go on writing many pages of these openings for the Church in Betong and Saratok. If all the six Sea-Dayaks now in training come to ordination they will enable us to tackle the urgent task of feeding this ever-growing flock with the Sacraments of the Church and of deepening the roots of devotion and spiritual knowledge. In all these centres the Central School needs strengthening and expanding; new buildings are planned and some under construction, which we hope will greatly improve the standard of work and of living, and result in our central schools being used by the local authority (Government) Schools for the top classes of Primary education. If this can be done it would be another fine example of co-operation between Government and Missions, and it would bring many more into the influence of the Church which we know that God will use.

It is a long jump geographically from the second division (where lies the work just described) to the Oil Fields. These began about thirty years ago in Miri and gradually spread northward until, in more recent times Seria (in the State of Brunei) has become the centre of the largest oilfield in the Commonwealth. The resurrection and the progress of the oilfields since the war (when they were almost totally destroyed) is a wonderful tribute to human enterprise and ability. Among the 1,000 or so Europeans, and many more Asians (Chinese, Indian, Dayaks, Malays) there are already many Anglicans and there is vast scope for

pastoral and missionary work. But we have only just got as far as restoring the Church side of things to the pre-war condition—a Church at Miri, with rectory and St. Columba's School; a Chapel-of-Ease at Lutong, ten miles off; a Church (temporary, to take the place of one destroyed by war) at K. Belait. That still leaves the main centre, Seria, without church or resident priest. One priest centred at Miri has at present to minister to this heterogeneous community over a huge area, to the detriment of his health and to the work of the Church. New possibilities will open up with the building of a new Rectory and Church at Seria—the latter partly the gift of the parish of St. Margaret and All Souls, Orford. With the division of the oilfields into two sections, North and South, much leeway can be made up, and a real effort made to build up some Church life in both sections.

North Borneo is strangely different from Sarawak, although the two Colonies in fact lie so close together. The Church began work there in 1884, and for some reason or other it has never yet spread into the interior. The Church concentrates on the towns of Jesselton, Kudat, Sandakan and Tawau, with subsidiary work at Papar and Beaufort on the west and at Semporna and Lahad Datu on the east. The Church in all these main centres is closely connected with the Schools which it has inaugurated—large urban schools filled mostly with Chinese. North Borneo suffered far more than Sarawak as a result of the war, many towns and villages being razed to the ground. Jesselton had to be largely rebuilt and therefore new town plans had to be prepared. After exasperating delays, with prices rising year by year, a plan has at last been more or less settled; the main result to us is that we are to move our schools out of Jesselton centre, and move church and rectory down from the hill on which they now stand. This of course is a monster undertaking, but one which has just got to be shouldered, beginning with the building of a new Boys' School this year. There are several out-stations in the Kudat peninsula, which is always a healthy sign. Sixteen hours in a steamer, down the East Coast, brings one to Sandakan, the largest town in N. Borneo, and famous chiefly for its timber trade; the population is largely Chinese. This is where the Church first started in N. Borneo, and recently the lovely stone Church (the only one in Borneo) has been completely restored after being burnt out. At vast expense also a Rectory and a Girls' School with accommodation for the Sisters (C.J.G.S.) have also been built, and the fine new St. Michael's Boys' School is well on its way to completion. The total cost of the reconstruction, made necessary by war damage, will have amounted to between £30,000 and £40,000. Here, as in Jesselton, perhaps the greatest need is for a Chinese priest to assist in the very considerable pastoral work. It was not only buildings that were damaged by war; many souls were broken, homes broken up, while irregular marriages, sheer apathy and indifference grew like jungle growth; there is much restoration work of this nature to be done as well as the ever pressing claims of evangelistic work.

Two days travel by steamer on down the East Coast brings one to Tawau, a place of growing importance owing to its fine harbour and

the unlimited resources of the hinterland. Here the Church struggles against great odds, all the greater for the years of neglect during and after the war. Perhaps the need here at the moment is for a European priest—with knowledge of, or readiness to learn, Chinese—who can really make this place into the Church wherein men and women, boys and girls will rejoice to find salvation. At the moment we are barely holding our own.

Finally there are the scattered units which somehow have to be reached from time to time. Indeed, the tiny village groups widely separated, often only reached by miles of winding river, form one of the great problems of pastoral ministration.

Borneo is a rambling sort of Diocese where all priests (except those in schools) must spend many hours, and the Bishop many days, in travelling. This account of the Diocese is a rambling sort of account which may reflect the sort of conditions in which the Church has to work. To try to pick up the threads I think one might summarize thus:—

1. The Church must somehow carry through its large building programme if it is to achieve anything. Apart from the New Cathedral for which at least £150,000 is needed to build the first part, it appears that about £50,000 more is needed to complete the reconstruction of War Damaged buildings and to put our old buildings into proper order.

2. The possibilities of the present moment are abundant, and our Church must somehow shoulder the great tasks laid upon her at this time or be unworthy of her high calling. Men and women are needed—men and women who can help to tackle the tremendous task involved in laying the foundations of the Church of God—so much harder than the work of adornment. But with men and women there must be money. S.P.G. and the Borneo Mission Association have both achieved wonders. But *now* is the time to “buy up the opportunity” so that by this present supreme effort the Church may become deeply established and therefore the sooner able to shoulder more of her own tasks and responsibilities.

3. The Centenary in 1955, with the New Cathedral and the ordination of more Dayaks to the Sacred Ministry, must be used as a great rallying point, and a giant spring to launch us into the second century with the same courage and faith that was shown by this Church when Francis McDougall set sail in 1847 to sow the seed of the Good News of Jesus Christ in Borneo.

THE CHURCH IN MALAYA

By the RIGHT REV. H. W. BAINES,
Bishop of Singapore

WRITING in 1952 Oliver Tomkins defined three points of contact between Western Christendom and the East. They were the political, the ideological, and the ecclesiastical. In describing the present work of the Church in Malaya, it will be helpful to make use of this definition.

The Diocese of Singapore covers not only the Malay Peninsular but also Indonesia, Thailand, Indo-China and Christmas Island. For the purpose of this article, however, it will make for clarity to stick to Malaya; for although all the three points of contact mentioned are present in the other countries, the work of the Church in them is limited at present to a ministry to English-speaking and largely to British people, and it is not, therefore, possible to write about them with such depth as should be found in Singapore and Malaya. A first call on the Malayan Church will indeed be to carry the Gospel to the peoples of the neighbouring nations and to reinforce the work already being done among them by various missions to build up the Church in South-east Asia.

THE POLITICAL CONTEXT

The *political* context of the work of the Church in Malaya is the creation of the Malayan nation. The material for this task is the present Colony of Singapore and the Federation of Malaya. Singapore is a great city and port with more than a million inhabitants, the great majority of whom are Chinese. Many thousands of Indians and also of Malays go to make up the population with the British who discovered, founded and developed Singapore. On or beside the Island and for its protection is a great Naval Base, a very large R.A.F. Station, and a Military Garrison. In Singapore also are the Headquarters of the Far Eastern Commands of all three Services. The declared policy of H.M. Government is the development and education, the economic and defence progress of the Colony to take its responsible place within the British Commonwealth. The same may be said of the Federation of Malaya. There, however, the political antecedents are different and the core of the political problem, too little appreciated in England, is the creation of a constitution for the nation justly representative of Malays and Chinese, recognizing and making room for the contributions made to the country by British, Malays, Chinese and Indian. Then there is the enrolling and training of men to rule and administer the new nation and to serve it in the many departments of State and of public life, and the protection of the nation at its birth from internal or external terrorism by international Communism.

This gives the Church the task of ministering to the British who govern in Colony and in Federation and of teaching the Christian doctrine of Government and of the State, widely different as it is both from that taught by Communism and by what is caricatured as Colonialism. The weight of responsibility on the shoulders of the Malayan Civil Service and on the Forces of Security is great. It is our privilege to serve them in the Name of the Lord, and our duty to discover and teach them His mind in their tasks.

Here it is significant that there already exists in the Church a supra-racial community in which British, Indian and Chinese mingle freely. Sunday by Sunday in worship and week by week in work and witness, the Church gives a practical demonstration of a Society in which the racial barriers are down and the curtain on the international Church is up. Two conditions are necessary before this work of the Church in Malaya can come to full fruit. First, the Asian Ministry and leadership must be so trained and welcomed that the inter-racial partnership may be on level terms. Secondly the Malays, who are a Muslim nation, must be won from their fear and suspicion of Christianity to look freely and fairly at the light that is in Christ and to accord freedom of religion to His disciples.

THE IDEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The *ideological* context is framed by two movements—Communism and Nationalism. The Church works in Malaya among people many of whom are deeply infected by one or both of them. The tension created by them is most obvious among the Chinese, who now number only a little less than half the population of the Federation, and form the vast majority in Singapore. In both territories Communism is a prohibited creed and the Party is illegal. Yet the Chinese, whatever his personal opinions, knows that since the Communists came to power in China, his nation has become respected in world councils for the first time in his life. However much he may hate the excesses of Communist terrorists against his own people in Malaya, he knows that they have shown remarkable and stubborn resistance to numbers of British troops. Nor can he deny that the Communist leaders in the jungle exert in many cases a greater attraction and magnetism on young Chinese than do the lawful leaders of the community in Malaya. Further, because it is forbidden fruit, Communism makes an unusual appeal to the young, the schoolboy and the student. Thus both national pride and natural instinct lend weight and wings to the refrains of Communist propaganda. These are some of the conditions in which our schools live and teach. It is known in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur, in Penang and Taiping, that the schools are the places where Communist infiltration is found and is to be expected. It would be easy to exaggerate the effect of this on the ordinary schoolboy or girl, but it is a factor which the Principals of our English-speaking schools for boys and girls dare not ignore in giving their teaching, and a danger which the Chinese vernacular schools find close at hand.

One tendency which may flow from nationalism is the long survival

of Chinese dialects. Though Mandarin (or Kuo-Yu) has long been the language of education it seems that the dialect is still used at home, and the Anglican Church has to maintain in Singapore City four Chinese congregations speaking four different dialects. Though this may enrich the society of the Church with linguistic variety, it may also minister to a narrow loyalty and it certainly complicates training for the Ministry.

Sometimes associated with Nationalism among the Chinese are extreme expressions of fundamentalist intolerance. Men who have come from China of recent years have in some cases taught a religion and shown an attitude which are remote from Christ, while using the august authority of the Bible. How close an affinity exists between Chinese nationalism and this intolerance is not yet clear, but the arrival of its preachers from China has spread pain and dissension among Chinese Christian ranks and hindered the movement to greater unity at the very time when it should be going forward.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL CONTEXT

In the *ecclesiastical* context, the older Churches meet the younger in the attempt to build a Malayan Church. In the Anglican Communion disciples from long-established provinces in the Old World and the New meet with Churchmen from provinces in India and China of more recent origin. The organization of the Diocese of Singapore and its Synodical Government are based on racial equality. Legally and constitutionally, in pastoral responsibility and in matters of property, there should be no hindrance to the development of the Church in membership and leadership however future events may distribute the various races over and out of the country. Again, in worship, as has been said, there is to be found in parish after parish, the happiest mingling of races and absence of prejudice or discrimination. There are congregations all-Chinese or all-Tamil, for linguistic reasons; nationalist policy may increase their resistance to the unifying influence of widening education. Yet the general pattern established in the Diocese beyond reversal is supra-racial and international. In music, art, decoration, architecture, ceremonial, there is much give and take between different races, and our churches are schools of toleration. Indeed, if this bond of peace could unite in the Spirit not only members of different races at common worship and witness but also, and as much, people at different levels of education and earning different incomes, there would be something to write home about.

There is no room for complacency over the inter-racial relations within the Church. The leadership is largely still in European hands. One Archdeacon, out of two, is an Asian: one Vicar out of nine parishes is an Asian. Both Indians and Chinese have their own Boards of Church Work and are largely responsible for the affairs of their own congregations and schools. Nor is there any considerable contribution from the Asian Christians in theology and liturgy, though exceptions may be found in Tamil lyrics and Chinese essays in pastoral literature. The reason for this is chiefly linguistic and educational. So long as English remains the *lingua franca* of the Church in the diocese, command of English will be a passport indispensable to men who hold positions of

responsibility and to those who take counsel from the Church. Interpretation is widely used, not only at services but also in Council, but nothing can set free the Asian Christians so much to take the place that is rightly theirs in leadership, council and theology, as the mastery of English by them. With that condition is closely linked the maintaining of the standard of training for the Ministry. At present both money and staff and accommodation are short for training our own men in our own country. Great things are hoped for from Trinity Union Theological College, Singapore, where an Anglican Hostel under an Anglican Warden is being formed. Our prayer is that when the College produces a steady supply of Chinese and Indian workers and priests, teachers and catechists, the Church will receive in addition to the faithful and courageous ministry and witness of the Asian clergy and people, that talent in leadership and in service and that treasure in theology and piety which only they can give.

The divisions between Christian bodies in Malaya are painful and wasteful. It has not been found easy to arouse enthusiasm amongst members of other denominations than Anglicans for improving and mending Church relations. And that in spite of the creation of the Malayan Christian Council and the labours of its Secretary, the Rev. John Fleming. It seems that the amount of co-operation which differing Christians have been able to share in practical service has anaesthetized them to the injuries and separations of ecclesiastical divisions.

At the same time it is a matter for thankfulness that within the Anglican Communion the hand of God has led missionaries from so many different Societies to come and work in Malaya, that service there is a happy discipline in toleration and Anglicanism. S.P.G. is the founder society, and still provides the majority of the Missionaries and the greater part of oversea funds. But when foreigners were evacuated from China, S.P.G. had barely any men or women of age or health to return to the Chinese in Malaya. C.M.S. have been able to send twelve, most of whom are working in missions in the New Villages of the Federation or in the Housing Estates of Singapore. C.E.Z.M.S. already had in St. Margaret's School, Singapore, the oldest Christian Secondary School for Girls in S.E. Asia; to this they have added four more workers, in our Hospitals, in the New Villages, and in Chinese congregations. Last in this field are the Anglican members of the O.M.F. (lately C.I.M.) who have been gladly welcomed into the New Village work in S. Perak, and whose members are steadily growing. Most of our Indian members came from C.M.S. districts in S. India, and nearly all our Chinese from C.M.S. districts in S. China. It is happy that through this fusion of many societies in Malaya a homely and familiar welcome may be found by missionary and disciple alike.

No picture of the Church in Malaya would be adequate which ignored the work in the New Villages. The Anglican Church has missions now in ten of these areas in which many thousands of Chinese have been re-settled. The missions usually use a clinic as their spearhead. The staff is mixed, Chinese and European. Evangelistic work by preaching, visiting and teaching moves outward from the Clinic. And the Clinic, where the staff live in the Village, is offered as a living demonstration of

Christian witness, fellowship and dedication. It is hard to over-estimate the importance of this work. Here Chinese may be touched as never before. However stubborn idol worship is in the villages, there the people are available, and there it is possible to show what it means to be a Christian. There the gifts and experience of missionaries who had worked for years in China may be used and offered again. Here the mission to the Chinese may be continued without interruption. We know little of what is happening to the Church in China except that the Lord does not fail His own. We cannot tell what will happen in future. We can and must see that it is of vital importance that the Church should continue and greatly extend its mission to the Chinese in dispersion. Of these the greatest concentration is in Malaya.

For this purpose the Anglican Communion, through its Missionary Societies, is called to bend every effort to equip the Church in Malaya with the men and women it needs. The Church in the West is challenged to call out men and women in the name of the Lord to go to the East, and not least to the Chinese in Malaya, as priests, doctors, nurses, teachers and to equip them with the necessary language and professional training. Our clergy (8 Indian, 9 Chinese, 16 European) are few and far between. There are still tens of thousands of totally unevangelized people in Malaya. The missionary task there is, in a real sense which casts no reflection on the past, just beginning. The opportunity is wide open. It is also fleeting. It is by our recognition of this challenge and by our response to it in men and ability that we shall be judged.

BOOKS RECEIVED

These will be reviewed in forthcoming issues of the EAST AND WEST REVIEW :—

Survey of African Marriage and Family Life (O.U.P., 45s.); comprising reports by Arthur Phillips (Editor), Dr. L. P. Mair and the Reverend Lyndon Harries.

Missions Under the Cross (Edinburgh House Press, 12s. 6d.); The Willingen addresses, edited by Dr. Norman Goodall.

Studies in Muslim Ethics (S.P.C.K., 27s. 6d.), by Dr. Dwight M. Donaldson, formerly Principal of the Henry Martyn School of Islamic Studies.

LESSONS FROM OUR EXPERIENCE IN CHINA

By SVERRE HOLTH*

WHAT has recently happened in China may before long be repeated in other parts of the world where Christian missions are at work. The changes may take different forms and be brought about by different forces, but the result as far as Christian missionary work is concerned is likely to be much the same. It ought therefore to be superfluous to say that no one engaged in missionary work can afford to neglect the study of recent experience in China. It is surprising that this obvious fact is not more generally accepted among missionaries.

At a recent missionary conference a highly illuminating and suggestive talk was given about the developments in China. The speaker urged that missionaries in other parts of the world should take to heart some of the lessons learned in China. After the talk, a missionary from Africa protested against the conference wasting time on problems which he considered were of no interest outside China. A former China missionary now appointed to another field writes that the attitude of his present missionary colleagues is one of complete indifference. Even more disconcerting is the astonishing fact that many former China missionaries now stationed in other countries work as though their recent experience in China had taught them nothing. Many years ago Dr. Latourette asserted that "every conceivable mistake" had been made by missionaries in China. The same thing might, I suppose, be said of any of the larger mission fields.

What, then, are some of the more obvious lessons to be drawn from our China experience?

I

The end of the era of missionary work in China left that country with "a strong Christian movement, but a weak Church". This fact became of crucial moment, and reflects one of the greater weaknesses in the work of the non-Roman missionary agencies in China. Generally speaking, an integrated and Church-centred policy was lacking. It was realized too late that an altogether disproportionate amount of resources in funds and personnel was absorbed in activities which, in many cases, had no direct bearing on the all-important aim of building up a strong

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indigenous Church. The conception of the Church was often extremely fluid, and sometimes lacking altogether. The tendency reflected in Stanley Jones' earlier writings, e.g. in the *Christ of the Indian Road*, was not unknown in China. There was no vital connection between many of the missionary institutions and the life of the Church. It was not surprising, therefore, that so many of the "institutional" Christians were lacking in Church-consciousness.

It is both the strength and the weakness of the Protestant expression of Christianity that it emphasizes so strongly the place and value of the individual. At the time of crisis, the Roman Catholic Church in China proved to be stronger just because it operates with a very definite conception of the Church Universal and an accepted principle of authority. The non-Roman churches in China were too slow in implementing the teaching of the Third Article of our Creed. Our Christians all too often lacked a disciplined devotional life gathering round the sacramental fellowship of the Church. Much more should have been done to Christianize the homes and to strengthen the ties between them and the corporate life of the Church.

II

In the building up of a strong national Church the theological groundwork is absolutely essential. A "dogma-less Christianity" is a phantom of the imagination. A Church which neglects the theological groundwork or which operates with an inflated or diluted theology will have no chance of survival when subjected to an organized and ruthless attack by an anti-Christian ideology. There can be no doubt whatever that here is one of the main reasons why certain Church leaders failed at the time of testing.

Soon after the "liberation" of Chengtu in West China, one of the local Church leaders preached a sermon on the words, "Thy Kingdom Come." "Thus", he said, "we have been praying and waiting all through the years. And now at last we have seen the fulfilment, for now the Kingdom *has* actually come. From now on, the main task of the Church will be to make itself dispensable. With the Kingdom of God fully established in China under the Communist government, there will be no need for a Church." It is probably true to say that the Social Gospel had more followers in China than in any other mission field. This fact can be partly explained by the peculiar bias of the Chinese mentality and culture. But it also reveals a serious defect in Christian thinking and training.

In this connection the training of an indigenous ministry is of paramount importance. It is well and good to speak about the desirability of producing a truly indigenous theology; but it is often overlooked that such a theology cannot be produced unless there is a firm grounding in the historic faith and heritage of the Church. It must be the product of a natural growth. Too often the clamour for "independence" in this and other respects is based on nationalist sentiments rather than on sound spiritual considerations and a true understanding of the catholic

nature of the Christian Church. It has become trite to blame the missionaries in China for being too slow in handing over full control of Church affairs to the Chinese themselves. But it is forgotten that the process has been much slower in most of the other mission fields. It is also overlooked that on their own showing the Roman Catholics in China have made a strong case for a leadership which is based on a conception of the Church which transcends the merely nationalistic considerations. After all, how many centuries did it take before the Church in the British Isles produced her own leaders and became "independent" in this respect?

The theological seminaries in China were often a rather unsuccessful imitation of their sister institutions in the West instead of a natural development of the life of the Church. The curriculum offered left much to be desired. Non-theological subjects which were considered "necessary" were often pressed into the four-year course with the result that there was not sufficient time left for the basic theological disciplines. In view of what has taken place in China, one would not hesitate to assert that it is in the field of theological training that the missionaries can give their greatest contribution in any mission field to-day.

Closely linked to this whole question is the task of instructing the laity of the Church in Christian faith and living. In this matter the sermon plays an essential part. Preaching in the Chinese churches was too often irrelevant and haphazard. It did not provide the average Christian with systematic instruction in the central tenets of his Faith. In this respect, the Lutheran Church had a decided advantage. The fact that on every Sunday the sermon is an exposition of the Gospel text for that day means that the worshippers are given an all-round and systematic instruction in the central teachings of the Gospels. Generally speaking, the preaching should aim at what is central and simple, rather than the novel and complicated. The Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed and the Commandments ought to be used to a much larger extent as a basis for Christian instruction. Above all, the lost art of Expository Bible Preaching should be revived—on the mission field as well as here at home!

III

In spite of endless discussions and conferences on the subject, it must be admitted that we never found a fully satisfactory and workable solution to the problem of the right use of money in the work. Why did we never succeed in discovering really sound principles in this important matter? The endeavours we made in all good faith to stimulate the Chinese Church to self-support again and again ended in failure because of lack of co-operation from the Chinese Church leaders, while to-day some of these very leaders accuse the missionaries of having sabotaged the self-support scheme in order to keep the Church enslaved!

We should seriously consider whether it is sound policy to continue the practice of supporting native clergy and Church workers wholly

or partially with funds from abroad. In China the mistake was made of imposing on the local church an organization which was far too expensive to maintain and which was out of keeping with local conditions. An artificially-constructed organization whose continuance is contingent on financial help from the outside will collapse like a house of cards when such support is suddenly withdrawn. The slow and painstaking line of action is usually the soundest in all missionary work. It is of paramount importance to keep the goal constantly in mind and not at any time to yield to the temptation to seek quick and easy results.

IV

China is an object lesson for those who wish to study the vexed question of Missions and Politics. How the work of Christian missions in that country has suffered because of the direct lines that can be traced between the missionary expansion of the Church and the political intrigues of the Western nations! It was no doubt hailed as a victory for the cause of Christian missions when, a hundred years ago, the missionaries obtained "treaty rights" to travel in the interior of China. To-day, this fact stands as a decisive proof to most Chinese that the work of the Christian missionaries was an integral part of the aggressive political designs of the West. The Communists have made full use of all available material along this line to "prove" to the Chinese generally and to the Christians particularly that the missionaries were in point of fact "agents of imperialism".

A Chinese Christian leader of world-wide reputation was asked why Buddhism, in contrast to Christianity, succeeded in becoming so thoroughly naturalized in China, even though Buddhism too was an "imported" religion. His reply was: "China sent for the Buddhist teachers, and they came in response to an invitation. Christianity, on the other hand, was forced upon us with the help of unequal treaties and the booming of guns. For this reason it will always be difficult for patriotic Chinese to associate themselves with the Christian Church." The fact that there is always a grain of truth in the fantastic accusations that are now being levelled against the missionaries and the organizations behind them, explains why Communist propaganda meets with such success in China to-day.

It is quite true that we must not allow the Communists to dictate our mission policy. But on the other hand nothing is achieved, and much harm is done by placing weapons in the hands of enemies of the Church. What seems to be an "opportunity" to-day may prove to have been a "trap" to-morrow. We must not consciously be drawn into political involvements which will make it difficult, not to say impossible, for the native Church to exist and carry on its work when the flame of nationalism is kindled. It may, for instance, be questioned whether it is wise for the missionary societies to accept financial assistance from the Government for their work in the New Villages in Malaya, seeing that the policy that underlies the creation of these Settlements is part of a larger political struggle. Similarly, it may be questioned whether it was a wise course for a host of new missionary societies to

open work in Japan at a time when the country was under military occupation by a foreign power. A better policy would no doubt have been to have tried to strengthen and intensify the work of the already existing Christian bodies in the country.

V

Finally, a word about the place of the missionary and the missionary societies. In the light of the new world situation and more particularly the situation in the Far East, it is self-evident that missionary work will have to be more mobile and to show more adaptability. Less emphasis must be placed on the external equipment and more on the qualitative content. The missionary must again become a curer of souls before anything else. There will probably be need for fewer but better missionaries—missionaries who have the will and ability to adapt themselves to their new environment, to place themselves under the authority of the younger churches which they serve, and to work harmoniously together with their new colleagues on a basis of complete equality.

The denominationalism of the Protestant churches has been a scandal in China as it no doubt is on other mission fields. One deplorable effect of this has been an unjustifiable waste of resources and much pious and well-intentioned work. If our experiences in China have taught us that all missionary work must converge on the all-overshadowing aim of establishing a well-founded indigenous Church, it ought to be clear that in the future there must be more co-operation and co-ordination among the missionary agencies. For one thing, the considerably higher cost of missionary work will make this essential. Duplication and waste must be eliminated. It may reasonably be assumed that certain missionary agencies have already fulfilled their God-given task and that now their wisest course would be to transfer their support to those agencies which are best fitted to meet the new situation and to undertake the task of Church-building in the fields where missionary work is still possible. It is at least conceivable that God is calling us to tread new paths, and we must be prepared to think boldly and radically on these matters.

The question of the status of the missionary needs further consideration. Does he in fact represent the sending society or the Church at the home base? There can be no doubt as to the wishes of the younger churches in this matter. In Holland six missionary societies have recently placed themselves under the authority of the official Church so that the work overseas is now directed by a council directly responsible to the controlling body of the Church. In Denmark a similar movement is discernible. Is this a point which needs urgent attention and clarification in order to avoid a repetition of much of the confusion we witnessed in China?

THE CHURCH AND THE REFUGEES

By JANET LACEY*

"THE Oxford Dictionary defines a refugee as a 'person escaped to a foreign country from religious or political persecution.'

That definition was written before we began to count refugees by millions, when we could still congratulate individuals on their escape from tyranny, and did not have to see the misery of masses to whom the future often appears even blacker than the past. The average refugee of to-day is not a man who has made a great personal decision for freedom, and found it; he is the victim of a political process, with which he has had nothing directly to do, and which has torn him from his home and country, casting him down as a complete stranger to live amongst people who resent his coming. By sheer weight of numbers—more in Western Europe than all the people of Canada—refugees have become one of the world's major social problems. Their presence menaces our ordered society. Soon we begin to think of them—like the 'unemployed' in the years before the war—as a morally questionable class of persons. We do not regard them as pioneers of liberty, but as a species of human debris, which has not been cleared away after the war.

"Any Christian approach to the refugee, therefore, must begin by meeting him as an ordinary man, who has had excessively bad luck."

The above is how Dr. R. C. Mackie, Director of the World Council of Churches Department of Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees commenced an address given in London in November, 1952. It states clearly and concisely what is involved in the refugee problem and presents a challenge to Christian people.

It is no news that thousands of people are on the move daily, especially in Germany from East to West, ordinary people very much like any of us, uprooting themselves because of a specific fear or a growing apprehension that something dreadful might happen to restrict their freedom; therefore it is better to be safe than sorry.

CHRISTIAN RECONSTRUCTION IN EUROPE

In 1944 representatives of the Anglican, Presbyterian and Free Churches in Britain met to decide what could be done to help the stricken areas of Europe as soon as the fighting had ceased. It was agreed to raise one million pounds and every church promised a quota; every diocese in the Church of England raised a considerable contribution to the main fund, which was called Christian Reconstruction in Europe. C.R.E. closed in the spring of 1949 and this brought to an end an exciting venture of Inter-Church Aid. The million pounds had been raised and spent. Thousands of stricken people in France, Greece, Germany,

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Austria, Belgium, Holland, and many other places had been helped. Churches had "raised" themselves again literally and pastors and priests were helped to re-furnish their churches and were given transportation so that their people could be given the spiritual welfare they sorely needed.

Many other countries had provided a similar service, the largest being the U.S.A., all working together through the World Council of Churches. As the "uneasy peace" got under way it became clear that there would be an unceasing number of homeless and hopeless people wandering about not only in Europe but all over the world. In 1948 the W.C.C. Reconstruction Department became the Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees. In May 1949 the British Council of Churches appointed a Board of Directors to manage the Inter-Church Aid and Refugee Service Department which had taken the place of C.R.E.

Inter-Church Aid is a practical and visible sign of the Ecumenical Movement and the new Department acts as agents in Britain for the World Council of Churches.

REFUGEE NEEDS TO-DAY

Dr. Mackie stated recently: "In Europe the International Refugee Organization came to an end a year ago—not because its work was done, but because that particular evidence of an international conscience had had its day. The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees was then given an enormous task of protection with nominal resources to carry it out; and devoted public servants from the old I.R.O. turned to similar tasks again in the International Committee for European Migration. But all through the I.R.O. days, and very especially to-day, voluntary organizations have stood alongside the European refugees and made official action effective. It has been my privilege in the last four years, as Director of the Department of Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees of the World Council of Churches, to see representatives of many confessions and countries working tirelessly alongside their colleagues in the European churches to bring some light and hope into the lives of refugees.

Primarily a refugee looks for a home. And so resettlement in Europe, and migration to the Americas or the countries of the Commonwealth, has been the most practical form of assistance. A hundred thousand men, women and children were aided by churches co-operating in the World Council in reaching other countries until the end of 1951, and even in this far more difficult year ten thousand have gone overseas. It is hard, exacting work. As I left my office to go home and write this article I spoke to a young American girl poring over files of papers. "We have tried so hard for weeks", she said, "and none of our people have been moved." And so we try and try again, knocking at the doors of governments, which are so often only interested in the young and able-bodied, and afraid of families. But it is surely the Church's business to keep families together.

Then there is welfare, the supplying of simple basic things to people who lack almost everything. When you see refugees arrive for the first time, what often strikes you is how well dressed they are! If you

could only take one suit or dress you would take your best one! But good clothes soon wear out in camp life, and working clothes do not last for ever. You can lose your chance of a new start in another country through the lack of a decent set of teeth. It is surprising how a few weeks' extra rations will turn a weakling into a suitable immigrant."

But the needs of refugees, like the needs of the rest of us, lie deeper. If ever you feel that the Church is losing its hold over ordinary men and women, go and see the peasants of Central and Eastern Europe in their present distress in the West. They have carried the church with them, like the Ark of the Covenant. In many a refugee camp the only attractive building is the little Eastern Orthodox chapel. And it is round the priests and pastors that some order has been created out of the chaos of exile.

The story of what the churches of Europe have done for refugees is one which will never be told. It is hidden in the lives of simple people in parishes and congregations.

It is difficult to present a true picture by quoting statistics and numbers; it is sufficient to say that refugees are entering Western Berlin at the rate of thousands every week and there are already nearly eight thousand other refugees in Germany. When I.R.O. closed down something like eight million Displaced Persons had been resettled and emigrated with the help of the Voluntary Agencies. However, the remaining 200,000 were the most difficult to move, because they included the old, sick and unemployable. Meantime all kinds of new categories of moving populations had arrived and were in disused Prisoner-of-War camps and existing as best they could. That position remains much the same to-day. Austria, Trieste, Greece, the Middle East, Italy, Hong Kong, Turkey, Palestine and India are all sheltering refugees and the size of the problem needs international help as one country alone cannot hope to resolve the immediate local problem.

The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees is giving large sums of money to the Voluntary Agencies to aid resettlement and training plans; it is they who have the technical experience required. High level representations are constantly being made to the U.N. by many governments including our own asking that status and support should be given to the refugees.

We think it is vitally necessary to keep the world-wide machinery set up by the World Council of Churches in motion and it is the largest of the bodies operating. The four major organizations concerned are the World Council of Churches, the Lutheran World Federation, the Roman Catholic and Jewish relief Organizations. Without this basic machinery the High Commissioner would be unable to operate and the refugees would lose the services of those most fitted to help them.

THE BRITISH CONTRIBUTION

The British Inter-Church Aid Department endeavours to make the problem understood as a vital problem concerned with persons. As a result of a Christmas appeal last year and a Broadcast appeal in March we have raised over thirty thousand pounds. Money has been sent to help the emergency in Berlin where with funds from Churches abroad

it will make a worthwhile contribution. We have arranged to help the Orthodox groups in Europe (a large proportion of the Refugees in Europe are Orthodox), and special contributions have been earmarked for Asia and Hong Kong. We also raised and dispatched £9,000 to the Middle East during the past nine months.

Korea was not included in the figures mentioned but it is considered that nine million is not too extravagant a figure. We propose to launch a special appeal next Christmas and will make the central point Aid for Korea. Those who have been to survey the situation say it is the worst picture of misery and hopelessness yet seen by the most experienced field workers.

It was agreed unanimously at the meeting in September, 1952, of the Church Assembly to support the British Churches Refugee Service and many members and parishes have done so most generously.

REAL INTER-CHURCH AID

Last winter two princely gifts were received from an anonymous donor in Britain amounting to £6,900. The first one was used to help with the reception of helpless people fleeing from Eastern Europe; and the second one made possible the appointment of Mr. S. A. Morrison, and to start the new programme for Arab Refugees. Naturally, after a space of months, enquiry was made to see whether the generous giver could help further. It was discovered that the gifts came from a woman, and her reply was a humbling one. "There is no more money. I have tried to take Christ's teaching on money literally, and to dispose of the capital of my small fortune as occasion arose. The last cheque I sent you was the end of my capital. This has brought a wonderful sense of liberation. It has also allowed me, quite honestly, to work as a mill-girl."

The British Inter-Church Aid Department helps the Churches overseas by providing Theological Scholarships for young men and women in countries where pastors are scarce and in some cases where Theological Faculties are not allowed. Support is given to Work Camps where young people do a job of work in devastated areas. Religious literature for Christians in countries where such publications are not allowed is sent.

The prayers and practical support of all active and missionary-minded Church members are needed if we are to begin even to understand the gigantic problem. Ways and means must be found of helping as many men, women and children as possible caught up in this tragic situation.

EDUCATION IN AFRICA

THERE are many observations in de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* which are relevant to the consideration of democracy in Africa—and England. Two of these would seem to be especially relevant to the quest for the best education for Africa. de Tocqueville writes :

I am still further from thinking, as so many people do think in Europe, that men can be made citizens instantaneously by teaching them to read and write. True information is mainly derived from experience ; and if the Americans had not been gradually accustomed to govern themselves, their book-learning would not assist them much at the present day.

and again :

I am convinced that the most advantageous situation and the best possible laws cannot maintain a constitution in spite of the manners of the country ; while the latter may turn the most unfavourable positions and the worst laws to some advantage.

Perhaps the outstanding merit of this* the most recent study of educational policy and practice in British Tropical Africa is to be found both in its acceptance of these two dicta of de Tocqueville, and in the way in which it applies them.

In the *first* place those concerned, whether in the study groups which went to West and East Africa, or at the Conference in Cambridge which discussed their findings, were clear that education was to be understood as a life-long experience. They went further and desired that especial attention should be paid to informal education, by which term every aspect of adult and post-school education is intended. " At least for the short term, there should be a quite novel concentration of energy and resources upon the tasks of informal education." Commenting on the significance of such a statement by a Conference of professional educators, the Editor of the record of the proceedings adds :

This was certainly the most revolutionary sentence spoken during the Conference. If education departments all over Africa acted upon it, and concentrated for the time being upon adult and informal education rather than upon schools, the educational pattern of Africa would soon look very different, and incidentally the efficiency of the schools would be greatly increased.

In the *second* place there is throughout the volume the clearest awareness of the decisive importance of what de Tocqueville calls " the manners of the country ", by which he means both the *mores* and the morals. There is a fine paragraph on the standards necessary for African education which reads :

The one who holds, whether by outward profession or by an inward and inarticulate knowing, that moral integrity, intellectual honesty, respect for persons, compassion, and courage are good in themselves and that their goodness is not contingent on circumstances of time or place—the one who holds these things firmly and discovers the way to express them in action will be a good neighbour, a good teacher, parent or citizen, and a good leader among his people.

On that firm basis the whole Study proceeds.

* *African Education*—a study of educational policy and practice in British Tropical Africa.

The authors are conscious of the tremendous pressures which will be brought to bear on African educators and certainly the study group report from West Africa would appear to be an urgent appeal to them to realize how much is at stake for their peoples in wrong decisions about educational policy. There is an iteration of the words "dangerous" and "disastrous" which is frank though not very comforting.

Especial emphasis is laid upon the calling out of teachers, on their training, and on the maintenance of their integrity as a profession—these all being recognized as the foundations of any progress towards an educated African democracy.

Generous acknowledgment is made on many pages to the work of Christian education initiated by the Missionary Societies and now being progressively taken over by both Church and State. And it is made very clear that all those concerned in the Conference were unanimous that a spiritual basis was being sought for African education. This affords a tremendous opportunity to the Christian Church in Britain to demonstrate the real meaning of partnership with the Church in Africa, a demonstration which might have incalculable influence upon the achievement of partnership in other realms.

Nothing is indeed more timely than the recent establishment, under the auspices of the Institute of Christian Education with the active co-operation and support of the Colonial Office and the Missionary Societies, of the Overseas Appointments Bureau through which it is hoped that an increased number of men and women of deep Christian conviction will be found for secondment to service in schools in Africa.

The specific contribution of the Missionary Societies, now that the main burden of responsibility for education in Africa is no longer on their shoulders, would appear to lie in the making of a qualitative contribution in a relatively limited number of centres, the while they accept the invitation offered to them to explore the almost unlimited ranges of "informal education".

A brief appraisal cannot do justice to the detailed examination of its theme which the study groups and the Conference attempted. Gratitude should be expressed, however, for the masterly analysis both of educational principles and of the West African scene which prefaced the report of that study group, and for the many pages of practical advice on matters of detail made available in the report of the East and Central Africa study group.

The Conference wisely passed no resolutions. It contented itself with the recognition of the valuable work of the study groups, making these the basis of its own discussions, and commending in this volume the results of all this labour to those who in Africa have the actual task of translating principles into practice. It is very much to be hoped that the mounting tide of political unrest in Africa, the increasing distrust of black for white, the precarious state of the African economy, albeit "lions in the way" will on closer inspection prove to be "lions" under control. The degree of that control and the availability of expatriate teachers during the next ten years pose the two great question marks which close every discussion of African Education.

M. A. C. WARREN